

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY S - RWAHERNE
APPROVED BY S - RWAHERNE
S/S -O:LRMACFARLANE
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
S.S/P

-----311933Z 044401 /44
O 311909Z DEC 76 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

EXDIS, FOR COVEY FROM AHERNE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (HENRY A. KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: NATIONAL PRESS CLUB SPEECH

1) THE FOLLOWING IS PETER RODMAN'S RE-DRAFT, WITH SOME
LIGHT EDITING FROM HERE. THIS CONCENTRATES ON THE SERIOUS
PART OF SPEECH; I ASSUME YOU HAVE ENOUGH HUMOR FROM EARLIER
DRAFTS FOR THE OPENING. IF NOT, AND IF THAT TOO IS A PROB-
LEM, LET ME KNOW AND WE HOUSE COMEDIANS WILL GO BACK TO
WORK ON IT AGAIN.

BEGIN TEXT

---IT IS A PLEASURE TO BRING MY TENURE AS SECRETARY OF

STATE TO A CLOSE HERE SURROUNDED BY SO MANY MEMBERS OF THE
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

PRESS. FOR I AGREE WITH SCHOPENHAUER THAT THE NUMBER OF
ONE'S ENEMIES IS DIRECTLY PROPORTIONAL TO THE EXTENT OF
ONE'S SUCCESS.

---LET ME SPEND A MOMENT WITH YOU TODAY ON A FUNDAMENTAL
QUESTION, ONE WHICH I HAVE REFLECTED UPON ON MANY OCCASIONS
DURING MY TERM OF OFFICE -- THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A
FREE PRESS, AND THE GOVERNMENT OF A FREE PEOPLE.

---I HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF TWO CONTRADICTORY SINS. I
HAVE BEEN CALLED OBLIVIOUS TO CONGRESSIONAL AND POPULAR
FEELING; I HAVE ALSO BEEN ACCUSED OF BEING MORE SENSITIVE
TO THE PRESS THAN MOST OTHER PUBLIC OFFICIALS. IT WOULD
BE DIFFICULT, OF COURSE, FOR BOTH OF THESE CHARGES TO BE
TRUE SIMULTANEOUSLY. IF ANYTHING, I BELIEVE THE LATTER IS
CLOSER TO THE MARK -- IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN THE
NATIVE CHARM OF MOST JOURNALISTS. BUT THERE HAVE BEEN
FEW MOMENTS, OR ISSUES, IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS IN WHICH I
WAS NOT ACUTELY AND OVERWHELMINGLY CONSCIOUS OF THE PUBLIC
ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH FOREIGN POLICY HAD TO BE MADE. ON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

VIETMAN, U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS, THE NEW OPENING TO CHINA,
THE MIDDLE EAST, CYPRUS, AFRICA, TRADE,ENERGY,RESOURCES --
ON THE RANGE OF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES THE TASK OF POLICY-
MAKING WAS ABOVE ALL ELSE THE CHALLENGE OF MARSHALLING
PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR DIPLOMATIC ACTION. IN A THOUSAND WAYS
AND ON A THOUSAND OCCASIONS, PUBLIC SENTIMENT DETERMINED
THE DIRECTION OF NATIONAL POLICY, THE RANGE OF POSSIBILI-
TIES OPEN, THE LIMITS OF OUR CHOICES, THE NECESSITIES OF
OUR DECISION.

---ACADEMIC ANALYSTS HAVE DISCUSSED FOREIGN POLICYMAKING
IN TERMS OF THREE MODELS -- RATIONAL CHOICES BY A POLICY-
MAKER; BUREAUCRATIC INSTITUTIONAL INTERESTS; AND COMPETITIO
FOR POWER. HARDLY ANY WRITER -- IRONICALLY IN A DEMOCRACY
-- HAS ANALYZED FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS IN TERMS OF THE
INTERACTION OF GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC SENTIMENT. HOW CAN
ANYONE ANALYZE THE LAST DECADE -- THE DECADE OF VIETNAM --
WITHOUT THIS? HOW CAN ANYONE ATTEMPT TO ANALYZE POLICIES
AND DECISIONS WITHOUT TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE CRUCIAL FACTOR
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

OF THE PRESSURES, MOODS AND CONCERNS OF THE CONGRESS AND
THE PUBLIC, CONVEYED VIGOROUSLY AND CONTINUALLY THROUGH
THE NATIONAL PRESS?

---IF DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP IS COMPLEX,
THE EXPLANATION IS NOT. IT IS SIMPLE. PUBLIC OPINION IN
THIS COUNTRY IS REAL. IT IS AN ULTIMATE CHECK ON GOVERN-
MENTAL ACTION, EXPRESSED NATIONALLY EVERY FOUR YEARS, AND
LOCALLY, MUCH MORE FREQUENTLY. BUT IT IS MORE. IT IS A
DAILY AND POWERFUL INFLUENCE; IT IS A CRUCIAL FACTOR IN
DECISIONMAKING. THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS ESTABLISHMENT IS NO
LONGER A CLOSED ELITE CONDUCTING ITS DELIBERATIONS IN
RESTRICTED MEETINGS; IT IS A HETEROGENEOUS COMMUNITY OF
ARTICULATE AND KNOWLEDGEABLE COMMENTATORS, AMONG WHOM MANY
OF THE MOST EXPERT ARE JOURNALISTS.

---IN THE MODERN ERA FOREIGN POLICY IS NOT AN ESOTERIC

CONCERN: OIL PRICE RISES AFFECT THE STANDARD OF LIVING

OF EVERY AMERICAN; ECONOMIC GROWTH AND PROSPERITY IN THIS

COUNTRY ARE INSEPARABLE FROM THE HEALTH OF THE WORLD

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 05 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

TRADING AND MONETARY SYSTEM AND OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BE-

TWEEN THE INDUSTRIAL AND THE DEVELOPING NATIONS; ISSUES OF

RACIAL INJUSTICE, OR TYRANNY AND DENIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS,

EVOKE THE INDIGNATION OF A WELL-INFORMED AND CONCERNED

CITIZENRY. AND THE ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE, AS ALWAYS,

ARE OF VITAL CONCERN TO EVERY MAN, WOMAN, AND CHILD.

----AND WE HAVE ALL LEARNED IN THE PAST FIFTEEN YEARS THAT

WHEN GREAT DECISIONS INVOLVING OUR NATIONAL SECURITY ARE

MADE WITHOUT PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT, THEY MAY BE

IMPOSSIBLE TO CARRY OUT. WE HAVE LEARNED THAT FOREIGN

POLICY CANNOT BE CONDUCTED SUCCESSFULLY OR AT ALL WITHOUT

PUBLIC SUPPORT. THE POSTWAR CONSENSUS THAT SUSTAINED A

CONSISTENT POLICY AND ALLOWED LEADERS WIDE FREEDOM OF AC-

TION WAS SHATTERED. MAJOR DIVISIONS OPENED UP BETWEEN THE

CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE. THESE DIVISIONS, EXPRESSED

PRODECURALLY, AT BOTTOM WERE SUBSTANTIVE, BECAUSE BATTLE

WAS WAGED OVER CRUCIAL MEANS AND ENDS OF FOREIGN POLICY.

----WITH WAR AND WATERGATE BEHIND US, THE QUESTION WE FACE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 06 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

IS WHETHER CONSENSUS CAN BE RESTORED ON NATIONAL GOALS,
AND WHETHER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO BRANCHES OF GOVERN-
MENT, AND PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN BOTH, CAN PROVIDE A BASIS
FOR EFFECTIVE ACTION. THE CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME WILL NOT
ALLOW AMERICA THE SAME MARGIN WE ONCE ENJOYED FOR OSCILLA-
TION BETWEEN OVERCOMMITMENT AND ISOLATION. OUR CHALLENGES
ARE PERMANENT, AS ARE OUR FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS; NEITHER
WILL SIGNIFICANTLY CHANGE FROM ONE ADMIN,STRATION TO THE
NEXT. THE PROCESS OF BUILDING PEACE HAS NO TERMINAL DATE.

---IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS WE SAW OURSELVES AS MANAGING A
CRUCIAL AND DIFFICULT TRANSITION IN OUR HISTORY. WE HAD TO
DISENGAGE THE NATION FROM A WAR WE COULD NOT LOSE, AND
WOULD NOT WIN, WHILE PRESERVING AMERICA'S SELF-ASSURANCE AN
INFLUENCE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGES THAT WERE SURELY
TO COME. WE SOUGHT TO ARTICULATE A NEW PHILOSOPHY FOR
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY THAT STATED OUR POSITIVE TASKS
AND GREAT OPPORTUNITIES, EVEN IN AN ERA WHEN WE HAD
LEARNED THAT WE WERE NOT OMNIPOTENT. WE HAD NOT ONLY TO
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 07 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

MANAGE THE WINDING DOWN OF A WAR BUT TO BUILD THE FOUNDA-
TION OF A LONG-TERM POLICY TO LAST FOR THE REMAINING DE-
CADES OF THIS CENTURY.

---JUST AS TRUMAN AND MARSHALL AND ACHESON AND EISENHOWER
AND DULLES, THIRTY YEARS AGO, WERE PRESENT AT THE CREATION
OF A NEW WORLD ORDER IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE SECOND WORLD

WAR, SO IN THIS ERA WE HAVE BEEN CALLED UPON TO DEFINE,
AND IMPLEMENT, A VISION OF PEACE EQUAL TO THE CHALLENGES
OF A TURBULENT AND CHANGING GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT. THIRTY
YEARS AGO, THE TASKS WERE THE CREATION OF THE NORTH
ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND THE UNITED NATIONS, THE HEALING OF
WOUNDS AMONG FORMER ENEMIES, THE INSTITUTIONS OF ECONOMIC
COOPERATION AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO RESTORE PROSPERITY
OUT OF THE ASHES OF DESTRUCTION. IN THIS ERA THE TASKS
HAVE BEEN TO ADAPT ALLIANCE COOPERATION TO NEW PROBLEMS
BEYOND MILITARY DEFENSE; TO MANAGE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE
NUCLEAR SUPERPOWERS TO AVERT HOLOCAUST AND DEVELOP
COOPERATION; TO BRING CHINA CONSTRUCTIVELY INTO THE INTER-
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 08 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

NATIONAL SYSTEM; TO EXPAND THE WORLD ECONOMY TO EMBRACE
THE NEEDS AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE SCORES OF NEW NATIONS
ON THE PATH OF DEVELOPMENT; TO RESOLVE THE FESTERING LOCAL
CONFLICTS IN MANY REGIONS OF THE WORLD THAT ON A SHRINKING
PLANET THREATEN WIDER CONFLAGRATION; TO CONTAIN THE MENACE
OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION WHILE DEVELOPING THE PEACEFUL
BENEFITS OF THE ATOM IN AN ENERGY-HUNGRY WORLD; AND TO MOVE
BEYOND STABILITY TO BRING ABOUT BY INTERNATIONAL ACTIONS,
IF POSSIBLE, SOME IMPROVEMENT IN THE QUALITY OF HUMAN LIFE
AND THE OBSERVANCE OF ELEMENTARY STANDARDS OF RIGHTS AND
JUSTICE.

----THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS HAVE CHANGED BUT OUR BASIC

OBJECTIVES HAVE NOT. THIS NATION STILL HAS AN OVERRIDING
OBLIGATION TO MAINTAIN OUR STRENGTH AND OUR ALLIANCES WITH
OUR FELLOW DEMOCRACIES. WE MUST STILL SEEK TO SUPPORT
FRIENDS AND OPPOSE FOES. WE MUST DO SO BECAUSE IN THIS
WORLD OF MANY NATIONS AND PHILOSOPHIES AND MANY CENTERS OF
POWER, THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM RESTS SQUARELY ON OUR SHOULDERS
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 09 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, WHEN THE DEMOCRACIES WERE THREATENED
WITH OVERWHELMING DANGER, AMERICA LAY IN THE WINGS TO COME
TO EUROPE'S RESCUE. TODAY, IF WE NEGLECT OUR HERITAGE, OUR
PRINCIPLES, AND OUR DUTY, THERE IS NO ONE TO COME TO OUR
RESCUE.

---I COMMENTED DURING THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN
THAT I DETECTED BASIC AREAS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN GOVERNOR
CARTER AND PRESIDENT FORD IN FOREIGN POLICY. SINCE THE
ELECTION, THIS IMPRESSION HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED. I SPENT
SEVERAL HOURS WITH THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT-ELECT,
AND EVEN MORE TIME WITH SECRETARY-DESIGNATE VANCE. THIS
ADMINISTRATION, AT PRESIDENT FORD'S DIRECTION, HAS MADE
ITSELF AVAILABLE IN EVERY WAY TO ASSIST IN A SMOOTH TRANSI-
TION. THIS IS NOT ONLY IN THE NATION'S INTEREST BUT IN THE
WORLD'S INTEREST -- SO THAT THE WORLD WILL KNOW THAT THE
SHIP OF STATE CONTINUES ON COURSE, A FIRM HAND AT THE
TILLER WITHOUT INTERRUPTION.

---OUR SUCCESSORS HAVE BEFORE THEM GREAT OPPORTUNITIES

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 10 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

AND ALSO COMPLEX PROBLEMS. I DO NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE
DIFFICULTIES THEY WILL FACE. THEY MAY AVOID OUR MISTAKES;
THEY WILL MAKE NEW ONES OF THEIR OWN. BUT IN CARRYING OUT
THEIR RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADERSHIP THEY WILL HAVE MY
SYMPATHY AND HEARTFELT SUPPORT. AND I HOPE THEY WILL ALSO
HAVE YOURS.

----YOU LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE FOURTH ESTATE CAN VIEW
THE NEW ADMINISTRATION EITHER AS A NEW CABAL OF OPPONENTS
TO BE RESISTED AND CHALLENGED AT EVERY STEP, OR AS A GROUP
OF CONSCIENTIOUS FELLOW AMERICANS GIVEN THE TEMPORARY
MANDATE OF LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT THE NATION'S
ESSENTIAL BUSINESS AS BEST THEY CAN. YOU CAN DISSECT
EVERY PHRASE UTTERED AND SEARCH FOR DISCREPANCIES TO EXPOSE
OR YOU CAN HELP YOUR FELLOW CITIZENS IN THE READING PUBLIC
TO UNDERSTAND THE ISSUES THAT THE NATION FACES.

----YOU CAN ASSUME IN ADVANCE THAT THEY ARE A BUNCH OF
DEPRAVED CRIMINALS, OR YOU CAN JUDGE THEM AS QUALIFIED MEN
AND WOMEN DEALING WITH OBJECTIVE PROBLEMS, AS PUBLIC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 11 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

SERVANTS IN WHOSE SUCCESS WE THE PUBLIC HAVE A SIGNIFICANT
STAKE. THE PEOPLE'S TRUST IN GOVERNMENT DEPENDS AS MUCH
ON WHAT YOU WRITE AS ON WHAT THEY DO.

----YOU ARE EDUCATORS; IT IS UP TO YOU TO HELP EDUCATE THE
PUBLIC IN THE ISSUES, AND TO EDUCATE OUR LEADERS IN THE
HOPES AND FEARS OF OUR PEOPLE. LIKE ALL OF US, YOU MUST,
AS JEFFERSON SAID, BE ETERNALLY VIGILANT, AS THE PRICE OF
LIBERTY. BUT YOUR OBLIGATION IS GREATER. FOR THERE IS A
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE VIGILANT, AND THE VIGILANTE. IF
ONE IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY, THE OTHER MAY BECOME ITS COST.

----IN MY VIEW, FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH, EFFECTIVE JOURNALISM,
IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN POLICY AT LEAST, IS NOT MEASURED SO
MUCH BY THE NUMBER OF EXPOSES, REAL OR CONCOCTED, PRINTED
AS BY THE WEIGHT OF INTELLIGENT ANALYSIS. THE MOST IMME-
DIATE IS VERY OFTEN ALSO THE MOST EPHEMERAL. YOUR UNQUENCH
ABLE SKEPTICISM SHOULD BE APPLIED NOT ONLY TO THE STATEMENT
OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS BUT EQUALLY TO THOSE OF CRITICS
OR CONGRESSMEN OR, INDEED, TO THE HEADLINE-MAKING

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 12 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

"REVELATIONS" OF OTHER JOURNALISTS. THE MOTIVES OF POLICY-
MAKERS ARE IMPORTANT, BUT SINCE THEY CAN NEITHER BE PROVED
NOR DISPROVED AND SINCE POLICIES USUALLY HAVE RATIONAL
EXPLANATIONS, SO-CALLED "HIDDEN MOTIVES" ARE NOT REALLY A
FRUITFUL DIMENSION OF ANALYSIS. AND IN YOUR ANALYSIS,
NEVER NEGLECT THE AT LEAST THEOLOGICAL POSSIBILITY THAT
POLICYMAKERS, BELIEVE IT OR NOT, SOMETIMES ARE JUST TRYING
TO SOLVE PROBLEMS IN THE BEST INTEREST OF THE COUNTRY.

----THE FASCINATION WITH LEAKS, WHILE UNDERSTANDABLE, MUST

HAVE ITS LIMITS. A PRICE WILL INEVITABLY BE PAID. LESS
WILL BE COMMITTED TO WRITING IF OFFICIALS KNOW THEY MAY SOM
DAY BE REQUIRED TO DEFEND, OUT OF CONTEXT, WHAT IS WRITTEN.
DOCUMENTS WILL BE WRITTEN ELLIPTICALLY OR DECEPTIVELY, WITH
ONE EYE TO HOW THEY WILL LOOK IF PRINTED IN THE NEWSPAPERS.
THE COVER-YOUR-REAR SYNDROME, ENDEMIC ENOUGH TO BUREAUCRA-
CIES, WILL BECOME A PLAGUE. OFFICIALS WILL FIND A WAY TO
DEAL CONFIDENTIALLY IF THEY HAVE TO GO TO GREAT LENGTHS
TO DO IT. THEY WILL KEEP THEIR COUNSEL IN BIG MEETINGS AND
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 13 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

CONVEY THEIR REAL VIEWS ONLY ONE-ON-ONE; FOREIGN GOVERN-
MENTS WILL SEEK OUT SPECIAL NEW CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION
BY PASSING THE BUREAUCRACY IF INFORMATION CONVEYED IN NOR-
MAL CHANNELS HAS A SHORT HALF-LIFE OF CONFIDENTIALITY.
AND I ASSURE YOU THAT THIS IS NOT SPECULATION, FOR I HAVE
WITNESSED ALL OF THESE PHENOMENA DURING MY SERVICE IN
GOVERNMENT.

---IF PERSONAL TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS ARE TREATED AS
PUBLIC PROPERTY, THEN YOU WILL CERTAINLY NOT SEE SENIOR
OFFICIALS TAKING OR LEAVING ANY RECORDS OF THEM IN THE
FUTURE. AND IN THE PROCESS AN INVALUABLE HISTORICAL
RESOURCE WILL BE LOST. TO APPRECIATE THAT, ALL YOU NEED
DO IS SPECULATE AS TO WHAT WE WOULD KNOW OF OUR EARLY DAYS
IF THE 200-YEARS-AGO EQUIVALENT OF TELEPHONE CALLS --
PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE -- WERE NOT AVAILABLE. WHAT WOULD

HISTORY TELL US OF WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, FRANKLIN, LINCOLN

AND THE OTHERS IF WE DID NOT HAVE THEIR LETTERS? AS FOR

MY PHONE CALLS, I'M USED TO THIS SORT OF THING; I'VE BEEN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 14 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

A VICTIM ONCE BEFORE OF THE QUOTE GARBAGE PAIL SCHOOL OF

INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM UNQUOTE.

---IF HISTORICAL MATERIALS DRY UP, OR ARE DISTORTED BY

FEAR OF PREMATURE DISCLOSURE, THE VERY PURPOSE OF ALL THESE

EFFORTS FOR OPENNESS AND TRUTH WILL BE DEFEATED.

---IN CLOSING I WAS TEMPTED TO SAY: I HOPE YOU TREAT THE

NEW CROWD WITH THE SAME AFFECTION AND SUPPORT YOU GAVE ME.

BUT I THINK THEY DESERVE BETTER THAN THAT. THEY ARE GOOD

MEN AND WOMEN; THEY HAVE A FRESH MANDATE FROM THE PEOPLE.

IT IS A NEW BEGINNING. THEY DESERVE A FRESH CHANCE.

---FOR MYSELF, I AM PROUD OF THE PART I WAS GIVEN THE

OPPORTUNITY TO PLAY IN A CRUCIAL PERIOD OF OUR HISTORY. IF

OUR OBJECTIVE IN 1969 WAS TO EMERGE FROM VIETNAM WITH THE

BUILDING BLOCKS OF A POST-VIETNAM POLICY IN PLACE, THEN I

BELIEVE WE SUCCEEDED. THE NATION IS WELL BEGUN ON THE AGEN

DA OF THE FUTURE -- STRENGTHENING OUR ALLIANCES; IMPROVING

RELATIONS AMONG ALL THE MAJOR POWERS; TAKING NEW STEPS IN

ARMS CONTROL; DEVELOPING POSITIVE RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 15 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

WORLD; SEEKING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA AND AROUND
THE WORLD.

----MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL IS THE INCREDIBLE RESURGENCE
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE'S FAITH IN THEMSELVES AND IN THEIR
GOOD WORK IN THE WORLD. IN OUR BICENTENNIAL YEAR JUST PAST
I WITNESSED AN OUTPOURING OF PATRIOTISM BEYOND WHAT ANYONE
COULD HAVE ANTICIPATED. FASHIONS CHANGE; THE SPONTANEOUS
LOVE OF COUNTRY THAT A FEW YEARS AGO WOULD HAVE BEEN
DEPRECATED BY QUOTE SOPHISTICATED UNQUOTE PEOPLE BECAME
A PROUD, OPEN, JOYOUS PUBLIC DISPLAY ACROSS THIS LAND. THE
FITS OF DESPAIR AND CYNICISM ENGENDERED BY THE VIETNAM WAR
TURNED OUT TO BE THE PECULIAR DISEASE OF A LIMITED CLASS;
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE NEVER LOST THEIR BELIEF THAT THEIR
COUNTRY IS GOOD AND ITS AIMS BENIGN.

----I NEVER DOUBTED THEIR FAITH. NOR DID I EVER DOUBT
MY OWN FAITH IN THE GOODNESS OF THIS COUNTRY. I, AN IMMI-
GRANT AND NATURALIZED CITIZEN, WAS SWORN IN THREE AND A
HALF YEARS AGO AS SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE GREATEST NATION
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 16 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

ON EARTH, MY ADOPTED COUNTRY. THE RESPONSIBILITIES ONCE
BORNE BY SUCH MEN AS JEFFERSON, MADISON, MONROE, MARSHALL,
AND ACHESON WERE TEMPORARILY BEQUEATHED TO ME. IF I HAVE
REPAID IN SOME SMALL MEASURE WHAT I OWE THIS NATION, I WILL
BE AT PEACE WITH MYSELF.

----I LEAVE TO YOU, FOR A TIME, THE GREAT TASK OF PUBLIC

POLICY. THERE IS NO GREATER SAFEGUARD OF DEMOCRACY THAN
AN INFORMED PEOPLE -- AND NO GREATER BULWARK OF A RESPONSIBLE
AND CREATIVE FOREIGN POLICY. AND THERE IS NO GREATER
CHALLENGE TO YOU THAN THAT SIMPLE WORD QUOTE INFORMED
UNQUOTE -- WITH ITS UNAMBIGUOUS AND IMPLICIT WARNING AGAINST
THAT WHICH IS TENDENTIOUS OR SENSATIONAL, THAT WHICH IS
MISLEADING, OR THAT WHICH IS MERELY PROFITABLE, AT THE
EXPENSE OF TRUTH.

---SECRETARIES OF STATE COME AND GO; THE PRESS WILL LIE
IN WAIT FOR THE NEXT GROUP. I PITY THEM; I ENVY YOU. IF
ALL ELSE FAILS, I MAY JOIN YOUR RANKS AND ENJOY THE FUN
MYSELF. IT LOOKS EASY.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 17 STATE 314166 TOSEC 340168

END TEXT.
ROBINSON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 31 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE314166
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: RWAHERNE
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D770001-0679
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t1976121/aaaaaacw.tel
Line Count: 687
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 13
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 NOV 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21 NOV 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <06 APR 2004 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NATIONAL PRESS CLUB SPEECH 1) THE FOLLOWING IS PETER RODMAN'S RE-DRAFT, WITH SOME LIGHT EDITING FROM HERE. THIS CONCENTRATES ON THE
TAGS: OVIP, NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006